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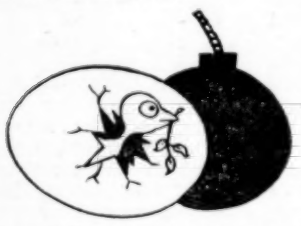
WAR & PEACE

Mid-East ferment perils 'Free World' war plans

WASHINGTON last week sped efforts to complete its worldwide military edifice embracing the Atlantic and Western Europe, the Pacific and Southeast Asia, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The project was spectacular but the foundations were already crumbling under the impact of economic reality, popular fear of war, and what Cyrus L. Sulzberger (N.Y. **Times**, Oct. 14) called "the basic human material for revolution."

In the Pentagon, Defense Secy. Lovett sat down with top-ranking atomic energy commissioners. Congressional speculation was that they discussed use of atomic weapons in Korea. But **U.S. News**, in a gloomy Oct. 12 report on What Next in Korea, conceded that

. . . bombing, even of Manchuria, seems to offer no answer. . . . Atomic weapons are of uncertain effectiveness.



The attitude of Washington's European allies to use of A-weapons was suggested in their reaction to Premier Stalin's recent statement, confirming Soviet atomic tests, that the U.S.S.R. will never attack anyone. The Paris press, for example, was almost unanimous in treating the statement as another bid for peace. **Paris-Presse**, major afternoon paper, proposed rearmament be delayed. **Le Monde**, close to the foreign office, suggested new four-power negotiations during General Assembly sessions in Paris next month.

SAVE THAT RUBBER! Army Chief of Staff Collins, on a world-circling tour with Indo-China the next stop, talked "arms aid" with Tito in Belgrade. Following the Washington visit of French Far East Commander de Lattre the State Dept. said the Indo-Chinese liberation movement "must be decisively conquered down to the last pocket of resistance," otherwise the West might lose 80% of its rubber, 50% of its tin.

But despite the growing shipments of U.S. napalm, jet bombers, garand rifles, prospects for the U.S.-French crusade in Indo-China looked no brighter. Marguerite Higgins reported from Saigon to the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (Oct. 11) that key officials in Asia view Korean peace talks

. . . with apprehension rather than hope. . . . Top-ranking American officials from Singapore to Tokyo . . . have been warned against . . . an armistice [in Korea]. . . . [There is] a growing conviction that disaster would quickly follow.

In Paris Gen. de Lattre demanded that the U.S. make no settlement in Korea without taking account of Burma and Indo-China.

But Korean truce talks appeared close to resumption as the Communists accepted Panmunjom as a new parley site and Gen. Ridgway apologized for a strafing of the neutral zone which killed a 12-year-old boy. Ridgway said UN planes have "standing specific instructions . . . to avoid attack or flight over the Kaesong area." (The Koreans and Chinese have maintained—and the U.S. command repeatedly denied—that agreement on no flights over the area was reached last July.)

OUR JAPANESE LAMB: In the U.S.'s Pacific domain opposition to its policy for Japan was mounting. London's **Sunday Times**, reporting that Premier

(Continued on Page 3)

United Nations photo

The right to a life of their own

Throughout the Middle East and the Arab world there is ferment today. In Egypt, Iran, Iraq and elsewhere the people are telling the foreign colonial master to get out—and warning their own leaders that the time for double-dealing is over. As they learn more and more of the real reasons for their abysmal poverty—which they once accepted as ordained of Heaven—they are organizing into movements that insist on the right of a people to govern themselves. Above, a hot pre-election argument in Lybia.

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM GOES DOWN THE COLD-WAR DRAINPIPE

Gus Hall legally 'kidnaped' in Mexico; Smith Act becomes final

FROM ancient times to the age of the Truman Doctrine, the right of asylum for political refugees was honored round the world, jealously guarded as a prime right of sovereignty. Last week this oldest of political traditions was badly dented south of the Trumanian border. Late Monday night, Oct. 8, U.S. Communist Party national secy. Gus Hall entered Mexico City in an auto with four unidentified Americans. Hall had been hunted by the FBI since July 2 when he and three others failed to surrender for five-year prison terms imposed under the Smith Act (conspiring to advocate overthrow of the government by force). Mexican secret service police spotted him, trailed him, whisked him to an immigration prison, decided he was deportable because "he had no immigration papers," notified FBI agents. By 7 a.m. Tuesday morning, after an all-night trip by automobile and plane, Hall was in a prison cell in the Federal Correctional Institution at Texarkana, Tex.

No U.S. official would talk about it. The State Dept. was silent, the FBI (whose own score on catching "stray" Communists remains zero) had no comment. Other than the bare facts of the capture and the swift surrender to the U.S., newsmen could learn nothing. But in Mexico a popular storm was brewing.

SNATCHING FOR HOOVER: Within recent months at least four legal "kidnapings" of U.S. residents by the FBI and Mexican police have been narrowly forestalled by last-minute efforts of alert Mexican progressives. On Aug. 16, 1950, the FBI and Mexican allies blackjacked and snatched from Mexico Morton Sobell, fellow-victim of the Rosenbergs (GUARDIAN, Sept. 5, 1951). Hall's seizure was preceded by a two-day campaign on front-pages of Mexico City's right-wing **Excelsior** against the "red nest" of U.S. radicals in Mexico. The U.S. Embassy formally congratulated the paper on its expose.

Mexicans, still smarting from the appointment of a U.S. ambassador tarred by political scandal (former N.Y. mayor O'Dwyer), were tiring of "Yanqui" arm-twisting. Diego Rivera, rated one of the world's greatest artists, led a delegation of other prominent persons to the Ministry of the Interior, protested the "betrayal" of the right of asylum, said the hasty removal "demonstrates the intervention of the U.S. in Mexico's internal affairs and is a violation of the Constitution." Mexico's Communist leader Dionisio Encina said:

"The Mexican government has not only scoffed at every legal procedure but has carried through an abject act of servility and dependence toward government and fascist police repression agencies of the U.S., without taking the slightest account of commission of one of the most disgraceful violations of our national sovereignty and independence."

He called on "all workers, peasants, and peoples' organizations and all men and women of Mexico" to protest Hall's removal.

HIGH COURT SLAMS DOOR: On the same day Hall was seized—first day of the Supreme Court's new session—the court announced it would not review its June ruling upholding constitutionality of the Smith Act and confirming the convictions under it. (Fifty-one other persons are now under Smith Act indictments). The court declined to consider issues it by-passed in its first ruling: a challenge to the method of jury selection, presence on the jury of Russell Janney, who boasted of his hostility to the defendants, sufficiency of the evidence and other matters. Ignored were supporting briefs filed by outside counsel. Said a Communist Party statement:

"The court of last appeal is the American people."

First public meeting to demand repeal of the Smith Act was scheduled for Chicago on Friday, Oct. 26, at Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt St., sponsored by the Chicago Arts, Sciences & Professions Council. I. F. Stone, commentator for the N.Y. **Daily Compass**, will be the principal speaker.

LET'S BE FAIR: While harsh to the Communist Party, the court was lenient with many another. It granted a hearing for Fred Stroble of Los Angeles, under death sentence for the sex-slaying of a 6-year-old girl; granted a second hearing to Mrs. Marianna von Moltke of Detroit, a former German countess under a four-year sentence for spying for Germany during World War II; granted a hearing to Joseph Beauharnais, Negro- and Jew-baiter of Chicago, convicted for racial libel. Beauharnais has been identified as one of the fomenters of the Cicero riots. The American Civil Liberties Union, which declined to participate in the Smith Act appeal, carried Beauharnais' appeal to the court as a free speech issue.

Woman Wins 2d Hearing as Spy
WASHINGTON, Oct. 8 (AP)—Mrs. Marianna von Moltke of De-roit, a former German countess

High Court to Hear Killer
WASHINGTON, Oct. 8 (AP)—The Supreme Court today granted ing

N. Y. TIMES, OCT. 9

"It will increase hysteria and fear"

CHICAGO

Asked by the GUARDIAN to comment on the Supreme Court refusal to review its ruling in the case of the convicted Communist Party leaders, Prof. David Haber of Yale Law School made this statement here last week:

"The denial of the petition for rehearing in the Dennis case means that the serious weakening of the First Amendment which the Dennis decision involves will be with us for some time. The prosecution of lower echelon leaders of the Communist Party will now continue. Further arrests will probably take place. There is a real possibility that these will take on the proportion of mass arrests. This means the punishment of many Americans who are guilty of no more than the exercise of their constitutional rights to hold and advocate their political views. More than that it will increase the hysteria and fear prevalent in the United States, which the President himself recently has deplored on several occasions."

Prof. Haber made the major report to the Natl. Lawyers Guild convention here on "Recent Supreme Court Decisions Affecting First Amendment Rights."

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THE MAIL BAG

Behind the brass curtain

FORT ———

They have isolated us as though we have the plague. Each of us has to look forward to at least eight weeks of restriction to the post from the day we arrive from the induction station. If you could send me the paper wrapped I would appreciate it. The place is lousy with stoolies and CIC mem. They have been checking on all discontent. Guys are always taking AWOLs, although they wind up with six months of hard labor, etc.

There are guys in every barracks who will read the GUARDIAN if they know about it and can get it. All of us are pretty interested in seeing peace in Korea and the rest of the world—we're the people who get put in the front lines.

Draftee

Hot air and floods

TOPEKA, KAN.

Now that the flood is long over and our civic leaders have done next to nothing about it, except talk about the Pick and Sloan Plan which hasn't started yet, we are slowly getting the place cleaned up again with the help of the laboring class which has had no help from our leaders of the city. The leaders are spending most of their time raiding night-clubs to get the slot-machines away from our temptations. They worry more over our morals and virtues than they do our livelihood. At least the slot-machines pay off every so often, but the city politicians pay off in hot air. Which seems to be the only commodity that isn't affected by inflation.

Walter Saar

The people in revolt

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We have now covered over 2,000 miles in our tour of the West [Holdridge - for - President Comm. tour—Ed.]. In Phoenix I read the column of David Lawrence, published in the **Arizona Republic**, pointing out the growing reluctance of the American people to press forward on the Korean War, and suggesting they are becoming insistent that we use the new atomic weapons to bring the war to an early end.

Having been constantly in touch with the people at the "grass roots," I can assure Mr. Lawrence (and have done so) of the truth of his conclusion that the people are fed up on the Korean War. They are sick at heart because their sons—the lifeblood of the nation—are being drained away in a war in which they find no meaning; they are confused and apprehensive over the leadership of our politicians in Washington. But there is absolutely no evidence that they wish to stop the war by use of the new mass-destruction weapons. I have not heard that suggestion made even once.

Our leaders will make a tragic error if they fail to grasp the significance of this growing, bitter "grass-roots" revolt. We have found strong evidence of it at all levels—among top labor and farm leaders, on down to the farmer and his wife, the growing son not yet drafted, the filling station attendant, and the workers in the shops. Dangerous days lie ahead internally in the U. S. if our benighted leadership continues its policy of mass murder to solve internal economic dislocations.

Our adventures have not paid off. We are drawn in deeper and deeper, and are heading for disaster. No atom bombs of any power can save us. Bring the boys home—that is the one thing that the people want.

Herbert C. Holdridge
Brig. Gen. (Ret.)

Main St. vs. Wall St.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Here's $5 to help a wonderful, courageous paper. It steadfastly fights for the best interests of Main Street America, exposing the ruinous course on which Wall Street is leading our country. J. F. McEvoy

Quick Henry, the DDT!

NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

I want to express how I felt reading the speech President Truman made while presenting the parchment of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence from getting yellow and being eaten up by moths or worms.

How about protection for the same against the Washington termites in office?

A friend of our constitutional rights

The Rosenberg Case

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Dear GUARDIAN: Thanks for the way you are fighting to free my Mother and Father. You are very brave and good. Please tell people all over the world not to believe the newspapers that are against my parents.

PLEASE don't let my parents DIE. My little brother and I need them and miss them. Thanks again, life-savers. Michael Rosenberg

•

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

As I looked upon the faces of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in the photo (Sept. 19 issue), I felt compassion. It seemed for a moment that I was looking into the lives of these two people. On the surface there was a courageous effort to maintain an outward calm in the face of a death to which their government had sentenced them. And yet they looked like people who were also somewhat bewildered, as indeed who would not be in their place? But there was a determination to stand by their convictions. And even in their darkest hour they would not cease to hold their heads aloft, or to bear the cross for the heart of mankind.

Yet too, within their hearts beat a desperate hope that their friends would not let them down. P. G. O.

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Due to the fact that the commercial press plus the radio distorted the true significance of the Rosenberg Case, a good number of well-meaning people are confused as to the real facts. I have saved all editions relating to the case and have placed them into a bound folder and shall pass this folder on to several people. However, may I suggest that you have the Rosenberg story published in pamphlet form? Bea Stadler

Fingers in the pie

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Guy Gabrielson, Republican Natl. Chairman, and William Boyle, Democratic Natl. Chariman, have both been implicated in illegal financial remuneration. This is what is known as the Me Too party system.

Uriah Genermac

Billing Washington

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I think it would be a good thing if the families of the boys in Korea were allowed to bill the Government for the additional food they are sending to them.

James Whalen

Action, Paris

The Independent Mind

MONTREAL, CANADA

I cannot resist to express my appreciation and gratitude for Cedric Belfrage's review and comment on Corliss Lamont's **The Independent Mind**, and especially for: ". . . while plenty of intolerance exists on the left, it is tolerance **within reason**—that is, tolerance of differences honestly believed, within the framework of the general good ideal—that is typical of progressives."

I felt very much like a trip to New York to press Belfrage's hand. But then I remembered that your government, despite the great Christian love for all this side of the greenback curtain, and especially for us Canadians, informed me more than a year ago that I am permanently barred from putting my foot on your soil because I do not approve of Mr. Truman's efforts to let loose every life-destroying instrument on those who are trying to carve out a good life for all. Louis Kon

There is a stirring

SULLIVAN, IND.

With Truman climbing in bed with Franco and Mrs. Roosevelt endorsing Truman for another term, wonder if F. D. R. rests well in his Hyde Park grave? Norval K. Harris

How crazy can you get?

When asked if he could clarify the functions of the newly formed psychological warfare board, Mr. Truman said the board is just what its name says, set up for the purpose of co-ordinating activities that will psychologically help win the peace.

Daily Wireless Bulletin
U. S. Information Service
July 27

A year's sub rewards the sender of each item published under this heading.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE READERS

Your Guardian is 3 years old today

Nobody who was anybody believed it—
Everybody who was anybody, they doubted it . . .
Ballad for Americans

WE ARE TOO BUSY for ceremonies with cake—even if we had any cake—but the man who sees that the numbers are changed on our front page noticed that this is Vol. 3, No. 52 of the GUARDIAN—which means that the next issue starts on our fourth year of continuous publication. Not only have all the reports of our death been grossly exaggerated, but—with no justification whatever in orthodox business economics (ask our bank manager)—we feel more alive than ever.

In this column where we harangue you every week about spreading the GUARDIAN family into new communities and more and more widely in the 4,000-and-some communities where it already circulates, today we pause to fire a salute of 50,000 guns to those who have made our third bouncing birthday possible. We salute the Guardian Angels for truth and peace, the nobodies who are everybody, who "believed it then, and believe it now."

All of us know that never in our country's history has it been more "impossible" to keep the voice of truth ringing out than in these three years. The terrific economic pressure of, for and by the corrupt press against the progressive press has been many times intensified. To this pressure has been added the flouting of our Constitution by the highest organs of government to slander publicly, to hound and fling into jail—and now (with the Rosenberg Case) even to sentence to death—Americans who "cry peace when there is no peace."

The bombardment of murderous lies in the commercial press and radio has not weakened but intensified since we began our venture on a wing and a prayer on Oct. 18, 1948. The lies that are now common currency here—identifying socialism abroad with "slavery" and aggression, and all who advocate social betterment at home with "communism"—are the same lies that filled the Nazi press under Hitler.

YET THE TRUTH WILL NOT DOWN—if you will stay the long course ahead with us.

For three years, because you have stood with us, the GUARDIAN has been able to document week by week the predatory economic forces behind the suppression of our liberties—and to show that these are the same forces shaping Washington's "Might is Right" foreign policy and taking from us more and more billions of our dollars to pile up instruments of mass carnage. From dozens of American and foreign publications which we read, from the reports of scores of professional and "amateur" correspondents who "tell it to the GUARDIAN" because they cannot see truth buried, we have been able to give something approaching a true picture and perspective of events.

BECAUSE YOU HAVE STOOD WITH US, we have been able to speak up for three years for a positive, sane program for this magnificent America. We have kept the light focussed on the blacked-out Brannan Plan to give our farmers a break—on the rural health, telephone and electrification programs which Washington has buried under its blueprints for war. We have recorded the dauntless fight of progressive trade unions for the right to be trade unions and not racketeering appendages to the war machine. We have shown what a land of plenty for all America could become if A-Bomb billions were spent on a Missouri and a Columbia River Authority, on a St. Lawrence Seaway.

And in a time of savage and nationwide attacks on the civil rights all Americans are guaranteed—especially on the rights of Negro Americans whose lot is the hardest — we have, to the best ability of our straining eight pages, enscribed the frightful and mountainous record of cases which otherwise would never have seen the light of day.

That our campaign of truth in the Trenton Six case resulted in the saving of these "second-class citizens' " lives is a tribute to every GUARDIAN reader who has sent us money to keep us alive and/or spent just a few minutes getting his friends to subscribe. These lives were saved—make no mistake about it—because the people protested. The people protested because the GUARDIAN led the way in bringing them the facts they would otherwise never have known.

WE ARE IN AN EVEN BIGGER fight now—the fight to secure justice for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, whose condemnation to death in the electric chair no honest reader of the trial record can believe was justified by the "evidence."

As we go into our fourth year, we would like to leave you above all with the thought of these two New York progressives—people, we believe, very much like yourselves—who now await in Sing Sing Death House the verdict of their fellow-Americans—yes, OUR verdict.

The whole fight for peace, plenty, decency and sanity is inextricably bound up with the fate of the Rosenbergs. If OUR government succeeds in putting them to death, a blanket of outright terror will descend on the whole progressive movement.

Many are silenced by fear—but not GUARDIAN readers, as we have come to know you. We believe you will do what all logic as well as all decency demands: join in a great shout of the nobodies who are everybody across this land—the cry for justice.

As for us who get out the GUARDIAN in this corner of America that is New York, we'll be doing our part from now on in—if you continue to stand with us as you have stood through these three crazy, tragic, exciting years. THE STAFF

Mid-East ferment perils war plans

(Continued from Page 1)

Yoshida "will steamroller" ratification of the peace treaty, reported:

> Strong forces inside Japan are prepared to make the gesture of fighting against it when the only alternative is continued subjection to a foreign occupying power.

Overseas News Agency found the Japanese

> . . . among the world's unhappiest and most frightened people . . . convinced Japan is destined to be the sacrificial lamb on the altar of American military policy. [Even many of the militarists believe Russia and China] will win the next war. . . . They preach neutrality and the ultimate emergence of Japan as the Far East's Third Force.

While Washington pressed for a revival of Japan's "Co-Prosperity Sphere," Southeast Asia got an offer last week from the Soviet delegate to the UN Economic Commission for Asia meeting in Singapore. The U.S.S.R. said it would send industrial, electrical and agricultural equipment in exchange for tin, rubber, jute etc. Next day,

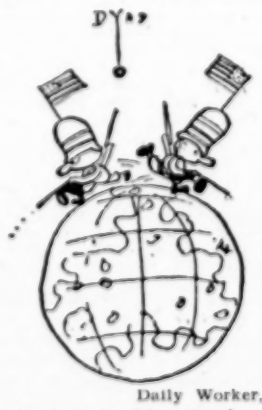
> . . . delegates of many Far East nations, who have expressed fears that cheaply made Japanese goods would offer serious competition, heard Mr. Nagai (Japanese delegate) let them know his country was out to capture all markets possible. (AP, Oct. 19).

Europe's economic crisis

ON the other side of the world, Truman's emissary Averell Harriman met in Paris with the newly-created Exec. Committee of the Atlantic Pact, to speed West European rearmament. Fearing that Pact officials "might be swayed by a current popular feeling that the West was 'overarming'," Gen. Eisenhower demanded a greater sense of "urgency" (N.Y. **Times**, Oct. 11), while rumors of imminent devaluation of the franc and the British pound indicated West Europe's incapacity to meet even present arms programs.

The British and French governments have denied plans to devalue (much stronger denials were issued up to the eve of the 1949 devaluation). But the Bank of France last week-end suspended future sales of all foreign exchange; the franc tumbled to a new low of 440 to the $; and reflecting lack of confidence in the franc, gold bars rose to $48 an ounce (Intl. Monetary Fund price, $35). Finance Minister Mayer warned that if the public did not "defend the franc," devaluation would be necessary. The British pound, strong in Paris in terms of the franc, was slipping in other markets.

TREATIES IN ASHCANS: Devaluation would shift to the mass of the people even more than at present the burden of rearmament. Faced with the threat of the Radical Party to withdraw from the unstable coalition, France's weak government also faced growing opposition to its Washington ties. In Britain "dislike of American policy" was the keynote of the election campaign (N.Y. **Times**, Oct. 8). Pro-Administration columnist Marquis Childs (N.Y. **Post**, Oct. 10) reported that "responsible officials"



Daily Worker, London

"You hold 'em in Manchuria and I'll clean up Korea, Tibet, Indo-China, Malaya, the Suez Canal, and the Foreign Office."

in London and West Europe were raising "more and more insistently" the question how the U.S. intends to use its weapons of war:

> Are they truly an instrument of peace . . . or are they intended to launch a crusade to destroy communism everywhere? If the second choice is the real objective, then the British—and most West Europeans—want none of it.

While lecturing Middle East countries on "unilateral abrogation" of international agreements, the State Dept. rejected the Soviet answer to the U.S. unilateral scrapping of the Italian peace treaty. Moscow said it would agree to revision of the treaty's military clauses if Italy withdrew from the Atlantic Pact and permitted no foreign bases on its soil. The Soviet proposal was expected to win wide support in Italy, just as the East German proposal for German unity threatens to undermine Washington's plan for West German rearmament.

Army Chief of Staff Bradley, accompanied by French and British colleagues, toured the Middle East on a mission to integrate Greece and Turkey into the Atlantic Pact and set up a Mid East Defense Pact. But Greece's "political feuding, weak government, and economic extremity" (N.Y. **World Telegram**, Oct. 1) had Washington worried. Following last month's election which "shattered [Washington's] hopes for a strong Athens government," no new government has been formed in Greece.

Off the course?

On Sept. 5 Chinese units in Korea brought down a P-51 Mustang of the 5th U. S. Air Force, the China Information Bureau reported from Peking. The pilot, 1st Lt. Orval H. Tandy of Washington State, baled out and came down near Sinchangri, Sungchun. The Chinese took his picture (above) holding a double-sided silk map showing on one side Mukden (China) and vicinity, on the other areas around Chengteh in Jehol (China). Close-up photos of the maps confirm this description. The Chinese ask: Why do U. S. airmen carry such maps if U. S. denials of charges of deliberately violating China's territory are true?

Storm in the Middle East

ON the eve of an invitation to join the Mid East Defense Pact as an "equal partner," Egypt denounced its 1936 treaty giving Britain the right to station some 10,000 troops in Suez (Britain now has 60,000 there according to **U.S. News**) and the 1899 condominium by which Britain and Egypt share rule of the Sudan (in fact the administration is 90% British).

For Egypt's government—reactionary and partial to the big cotton interests—the move could be read as an indication of the high price the Arab League is asking to join the anti-Soviet front: rejection of the UN Palestine Conciliation Plan, revision of Israel's borders, resettlement of and compensation for Arab refugees, as well as the ouster of Britain. For the people of Egypt the move was "another step on the road to freedom" (Albion Ross, N.Y. **Times**, Oct. 10). The **Times** reported from Cairo Oct. 14:

> The struggle between the Western bloc and Soviet Russia means nothing here. The West's insistence on the need for defense against Kremlin aggression is regarded as a trick of "imperialists." . . . The idea of a neutral Moslem bloc is popular.

HOG-BLOOD IN THE COLA: In Cairo and Alexandria huge demonstrations of students and workers hailed the move by wrecking Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola trucks. In Parliament a few days earlier a deputy had cried: "We're sick of Pepsi-Cola and Chevrolet imperialism." The **Wall St. Journal's** Edward Hughes reported Oct. 12:

> Pepsi-Cola's woes . . . are a good indication of the anti-Americanism rife in Egypt today. Sales have been slashed dramatically in what appears to be a systematic campaign on the part of the Egyptian nationalists. "Pepsi-Cola is made from the blood of hogs," is the attack hurled recently by several newspapers in Cairo. To a Moslem anything connected with a hog is untouchable.

While other U.S. papers called the U.S. the inevitable inheritor of the declining British Empire's "responsibilities," Hughes wrote:

> It isn't only British influence which is rapidly declining in this part of the world —it's American influence as well. The State Dept. . . . has accelerated this downtrend by aligning itself solidly on the British side. . . . Events are outstripping the Western d'plomats. [Of the proposal to guard Suez, "keystone of British defense in the Mid East," by an international force:] Indications are that it is too late for that sort of thing.

EXPLOSIVE MISERY: Egypt's action was also to be explained in terms of domestic unrest. The UN Food & Agricultural Orgn. recently reported:

> It may be difficult to maintain in coming months the already low living standards of the rural masses of the Near East. . . . [There is] a marked change for the worse since the war.

Egypt's food production is only 96% of pre-war, while its population has increased 23%. The 90,000,000 rural inhabitants of the Middle East "live in desperate poverty, ignorance and disease." **U.S. News** (Oct. 12) called Egypt

> . . . a country shot through with scandal and official corruption, held down by a stark poverty as bad as any in the world; beset by political anger and unrest that might explode. . . . For the first time in modern history, there appears to be a political awakening in Egypt's poor—an angry awakening.

Anne O'Hare McCormick, in the N.Y. **Times** Oct. 13, observed:

> The storm of nationalism is whipped up in this area by bankrupt politicians, but it is a real hurricane nonetheless. . . . [The West must act before] the crowd in the streets becomes the only policy maker.

IRAQ CLIMBS ABOARD: The danger that the people might make policy also confronted the West in Iran. In the week before his appearance at the

Drawing by Maurice Becker

Security Council, Premier Mossadegh held four conferences with U.S. Asst. Secy. of State McGhee. Daily press conferences held by his deputy premier Fatemi indicated Iran would stand firm on not recognizing UN competency to handle the question of its nationalization of Anglo-Iranian Oil, but was looking for a deal with the U.S. As Miss McCormick observed, the Iranian oil dispute seemed easier of settlement in N.Y. where "Mossadegh is not surrounded by shouting mobs threatening his life if he gives in."

Iraq, following the lead of Iran and Egypt, asked Britain last week to agree to revision of the 1930 treaty under which British R.A.F. units may remain on Iraq's territory until 1955. In 1948 opposition to the presence of British troops forced the then Premier to flee the country amid nationwide anti-British demonstrations.

Britain professed not to be worried by the demand from Bagdad, but the Jerusalem **Post**, commenting on the FAO report, summed up the picture for the entire Middle East:

> A storm far more formidable [than that in Iran and Egypt] may yet shake the entire social structure of the area.

Ad in Los Angeles Daily News

LABOR

Mine & Mill cracks 3 of copper's Big 4

FOR THE CIO, the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, one of its founders and oldest of its members, was too "left." When Mine & Mill was expelled, CIO threatened its destruction, began systematic raids on its membership. Did the union hold? Recently **Business Week**, management journal, called the union the "strongest in the U.S."

On Aug. 27, contemptuous of the government's wage freeze, Mine & Mill called the first nationwide strike against the copper industry, halted 95% of all production. In the first few days it cracked the first of the Big Four, won a 19½c an hour package increase from Kennecott Copper. President Truman sent the strikers back to work for an 80-day cooling-off period under a Taft-Hartley injunction. Production didn't seem to reach high gear under such restraint; two weeks ago Mine & Mill toppled Phelps-Dodge, won a 20½c package increase.

Last week the third of the four giants, American Smelting & Refining Co., signed its first chain-wide contract, granted a package boost of 17c an hour plus a unique pension plan granting every worker an accumulative benefit of $1 a month for every year of employment, regardless of length of service. The pension is in addition to social security benefits.

CIO EXPELEES MEET: Besides these big three, Mine & Mill has won a 21c-an-hour increase from U.S. Metals Co., 20½c from American Zinc. Only holdouts are Anaconda, one of the Big Four, and some independents in Idaho and Arizona. The Taft-Hartley injunction expires Nov. 24; Mine & Mill is ready to strike again then if the holdouts don't settle before.

In contrast, CIO's International United Electrical Workers a week ago settled with General Electric for a 2½% wage increase with a minimum of 3½c-an-hour boost. The rival independent UE called it a "sell out."

Mine & Mill was sparking the labor movement in another direction. At UE's recent convention, M & M's president John Clark called for labor unity, announced a forthcoming meeting of progressive unions. Last week the meeting was held, attended by eight organizations expelled from the CIO. Spokesmen said "a national campaign to break the wage freeze" had been planned. They denied a formal federation had been formed, said only that "we will continue to meet periodically to discuss and act on similar problems."

NEGRO LABOR COUNCILS: From coast to coast trade unions are preparing for a convention in Cincinnati, O., Oct. 27 and 28, to found a National Negro Labor Council. Its aim: "to establish a permanent organization" that will be satisfied with "nothing less than full freedom of the Negro people and an end to the era of second-class citizenship." Provisional headquarters of the movement at present are in Detroit, where William R. Hood, secretary of the CIO United Auto Workers Ford local, is one of its leaders.

THE LETTERS OF JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG

'Oh, how indescribably bitter it is to be separated from one's children—yet must I curb my longing . . . .'

We publish below further excerpts from the correspondence of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the two Americans now under death sentence as "atomic spies." The first letter, from Ethel to Julius, refers to his letter to her in April (published last week) after she was transferred to Sing Sing Death House.

Darling, your letter brought you right into a cell grown suddenly quiet as a tomb, much as though you, too, were visiting me, stirring me to the depths. . . .

Look, tootsie-roll, what are you trying to do; usurp my hitherto undisputed position as the literary genius in the family? Apparently, it isn't enough for you that you are an Atomic Svengali, a shnookle and an octopus, now you have also got to be a plain, ordinary no-goodnik and steal your wife's (highly doubtful) superiority as a writer! Sweetheart, more power to you. The unutterably sweet expressions of love and devotion contained in this last epistle filled me with such deep and abiding happiness and brought you so close, I could almost (but not quite) reach out and touch you. . . .

(Julius to Ethel—Mother's Day)

This Sunday being Mother's Day is a particularly difficult occasion for you the mother of our children [Michael, 8, Robbie, 4—Ed.] I can only imagine the deep pain and suffering you undergo being separated from your darlings and not being able to exercise your motherly prerogatives. It is that tremendous power of motherhood and deep understanding that you so ably have utilized to buttress yourself and stand up a great woman. Your children will always be proud of their mother. As for me I send you my warmest greeting and love.

(Ethel to Atty. Emanuel Bloch)

. . . Now I have a special request to make of you. Please, when you see the Warden next, won't you plead with him to allow me to have Michael's plant outside the cell where I can see it but not touch it? At the very least, couldn't I see it just once so that I can truthfully tell Michael what it looks like. Do you really think that it won't occur to a sensitive, perceptive child like Mike that my silence about it is due to the fact that I was not permitted to receive it? My God, what harm can there possibly be, what crime committed if I am allowed this one token of love from my darling children whom I have not seen for close to a year now! Beg him to let me have it, won't you, Manny?

(Julius to Ethel—May 9)

. . . Ethel, I was terribly shocked to read that Willie McGee was executed. . . . My heart is sad, my eyes are filled with tears. I must yell SHAME AMERICA! Shame on those who perpetrated this heinous act! Greater shame on those who did not lift their voices and hands to stop the Mississippi executioner. It seems to me that the federal courts have adopted the abominable medieval practice of the Southern Bourbons, legal lynching of Negroes—and are now attempting, as in our case, to apply this to political prisoners. Mark my words, dearest, the harsh sentence passed on us is part of the atomic hysteria designed to brutalize the minds of the people in order to make it easier for them to accept as a commonplace thing long prison terms and even death sentences for political prisoners. It serves the added nefarious purpose of establishing a fear paralysis among progressive Americans. . . . The most important thing is that the camouflage has to be ripped away, the loud braying of jackals of hate has to be answered with reason and fact, and only positive organizations of free people and their ensuing direct action can successfully save the peace and assure freedom in our country. That is why I am positive growing numbers of people will come to understand our fight and join with us to win so just a cause.

EMANUEL BLOCH
. . . what crime committed . . . ?

In mid-May, a month after Ethel was sent to the Death House, Julius won his fight to be sent there too. They saw each other for the first time in six weeks when they conferred together with attorney Bloch. Julius wrote to Ethel:

. . . I felt so good and confident talking over our defense and present problems, but as soon as it was over there was a terrific letdown. Darling, I miss you so much and I am so concerned for your welfare and peace of mind. All during the lawyer consultation I couldn't take my eyes off you nor could I get myself to express the tender and deep love I feel for you, my precious. Only one who experiences this nightmare is capable of comprehending the tremendous emotional pressure of this type of incarceration. Ethel, please keep on holding up your chin as it does so much for our confidence.

. . . I'm sure we'll make it, Darling. With decency and justice we'll be delivered from this darkness to beautiful life and freedom. Goodnight, my wife.

Ethel replied:

. . . It's only three days ago that my lips clung in desperate hunger to yours and my glance kindled to behold the long-loved, oddly familiar, oddly strange being close to whom I had lain and sweetly slumbered through how many nights—only three days by the calendar, yet am I certain that eons have elapsed and that I dreamed our meeting in any case. . .

My dearest husband, what heaven and what hell to welcome you to monotonous days and joyless nights, to endless desire and endless denial. And yet here shall we plight our troth anew, here held fast by brick and concrete and steel, shall our love put forth gripping root and tender blossom, here shall we roar defiance and give battle. . . .

Julius' readjustment to Sing Sing occupied their next few letters, then late in May Ethel wrote:

Of course, you experienced the same pangs of unfulfilled hunger at the termination of our visit as I did; and yet what sweet gratification there was for us in the simple fact of our being together. . . . Can we ever forget the turbulence and struggle, the joy and beauty of the early years of our relationship when you courted me and I accepted you as my heart's dearest? Together we hunted down the answers to all the seemingly insoluble riddles a complex and callous society presented. Those answers have withstood the test of time and change and still stand for all those who are not afraid to look and see and examine as we did in the long ago and far away.

Indeed, it is because we didn't hesitate to blazon forth those very answers, it is because we were relentless, uncompromising, implacable, in implementing our beliefs with action, that we sit today within the gray walls of Sing Sing awaiting we know not what further pain and sorrow and emptiness. And yet for the sake of those answers, for the sake of American democracy, justice and brotherhood, for the sake of peace and bread and roses, and the innocent laughter of little children, shall we continue to sit here in dignity and in pride and in the deep abiding knowledge of our innocence before God and man, until the truth becomes a clarion call to all decent humanity and the doors of this slaughter house are flung wide!

There was once a wise man, I forget his name, who marvelled at the "indestructibility of human character." Beloved, we shall prove him right; perhaps then will other human beings believe in their indestructibility, too, and rally in ever increasing numbers to our defense and their own. For they who have the courage and the foresight and the decency to aid the Rosenbergs' fight for freedom, ensure their own eventual release.

Ethel's family all but deserted her after her arrest. Julius' family stuck with the bereft couple, and they relied heavily on Julius' sister for attention to their children. Following are excerpts from their letters to her.

(From Ethel—May 10)

. . . Right now, I am re-reading the account of your trip with the children to the Bronx Zoo. I don't suppose I could ever really tell you how safe and secure I feel to know without question that you and yours will never turn a deaf ear on my two precious ones and their overwhelming need to be loved and cared for in our absence. The wound of my separation from them is brutal, as you may well imagine, but at least I rest easy in the knowledge that, come what may, their darling Daddy's family will never desert them. . . .

(From Ethel—May 26)

. . . Oh, how indescribably bitter it is to be separated from one's children. Can the heart-ache ever really be measured? I am a vessel filled to overflowing with so much sorrow, so much pain, it seems as though I shall never be quite free of these feelings again. Yet must I curb my longing and bid myself be patient yet a while more. The thought of my sweet husband ever comforts and sustains me; I simply must not be found wanting.

(From Ethel—June 2)

. . . The longer I know him [Julius], the more am I impressed with his warm-hearted sincerity, his dignity and integrity as an individual, and the guiltlessness of his feelings toward other human beings. If we live without these precious gifts, what are we but "dwellers in the dust" who know not, who sing not, who care not—and who can inspire no other to know or to sing or to care!

(From Julius—June 9)

. . . When I was arrested and subsequently when I went to trial I told our lawyers it is very difficult to beat a case like this in an atmosphere fraught with war talk, witch hunts and frenzied superpatriotic mouthings of 200 plus percent "Americans." In plain English the facts and laws of the land were thrown out the window and prejudice and emotion ruled. It is now our only salvation to fight all this and force the truth and couple it with an expert legal defense.

We are positive of the one fact that we are not part of this conspiracy but only victims of a political frame-up. Ours is a lot full of frustration and emotional torture, we need all the help we can get to free us as quickly as possible from this terrible tomb. Your steadfast support and devotion has bolstered us a great deal, particularly your kindness and love for our children. Know that in spite of our great hardships Ethel and I are strong and we'll continue to hold our heads high, but to all of our family and friends I repeat, please hurry and help us.

. . . We are counting on you and you can count on us — All my love. . . .

When the Rosenberg children had been removed from a shelter home (where they were confined for a year after their parents' arrest) to live with Julius' mother, Ethel learned from his sister that domestic problems were arising. She wrote to attorney Bloch:

ETHEL ROSENBERG
"As rebellious as ever . . ."

. . . I have a practical suggestion for one particular problem my sister-in-law mentioned. She claims there is annoyance over the fact that the children rough it up rather noisily together in the early morning before the adults are ready to rise and supervise their dressing and breakfasting. I used to prepare them, by a proper suggestion the night before, for them to use certain play materials, specifically laid out for their use (within easy reach) for quiet early morning play—materials like plasticene, a couple of particularly attractive books (something large and colorful which they don't get to see as often as their other books), magic slates to scribble on, and nice, large writing pads of unlined drawing paper with a box of good crayons for each. You might even say that their Mommy had made the suggestion to so behave in the morning and would be happy if they would try to remember to undertake this kind of play—just the same way tifey used to when Mommy and Daddy were still asleep at home. . . .

Another letter to Bloch discloses much about Ethel Rosenberg's character:

. . . I'd like to drop your dad [co-counsel Alexander Bloch—Ed.] a few lines but since I don't know if it would be permissible, I'd better just send my love through you. How is my adopted "Pop" anyway? Tell him his adopted "daughter" is as rebellious as ever; let him just come and see me and I'll give him a sample of the old lung power! Gosh, how I used to bawl him out during our consultations and how he'd plead with you to make me "stop yelling" at him! How far away it all seems; I can see him this minute, after the verdict, sitting there heart-broken, overcome, sick to the soul of him at all the rotten hypocrisy of the impartial judge and the impartial jury. His old eyes have beheld so many slimy things, I'm hoping it's in the cards for him to behold our eventual victory!

On Aug. 22, a week after the GUARDIAN series on the case began, Julius wrote to Bloch:

. . . The radio just announced the Circuit Court reversal of the Remington conviction, and from what was said I can gather it will have far-reaching effect and may be of use in our appeal. This is certainly a blow against the high-handed tactics of Saypol and the Justice Dept. This together with the splendid news you brought us [the start of the GUARDIAN series—Ed.] has bolstered our courage. We have never lost heart but it feels good to know things are happening. . . .

When attorney Bloch arranged for the children to visit their parents in Sing Sing, Ethel took charge by mail. She wrote six full letters of detailed instruction, of which the following was her last word:

. . . I want to caution you in closing to give yourself enough of a head-start from the city on Friday to cover any unexpected delays and still enable you to get here at 12:30 as planned. Make sure in advance that Jerry [the driver] knows exactly how to get here, so that there shall be no slip-ups and consequent loss of time. You might also take the precaution of bringing a bit of food along from home and then just in case there is inadequate time to stop for lunch, you can feed them just before you hit Ossining, and they can eat more substantially, if it is required, after the visits are over.

I know you're probably sore as hops because I'm instructing you as though you were a simpleton; be that as it may, I shall beat your brains out (and Jerry's too) if you frustrate me by coming late. Remember, you once told me you wouldn't mind being my whipping boy? Well, this is it!

Seriously, though, the thought that has gone into all these letters stems from a torment of anxiety about the future of the children. You can understand that, can't you?

The older Rosenberg boy, Michael, knows that his parents are in prison, believes in their complete innocence and in their eventual vindication.

(Julius—to Michael)

My Dearest Darling Boy Michael:

. . . We your parents still can't come home as our appeal to the higher courts has not as yet been heard. Be patient, honey, as everything will turn out all right and we'll come home too, when all this is over. I see your mummy regularly and we talk about you two fellows. We look at your pictures and hug and kiss you with all our hearts. You are very dear and precious to us and I send you all my love. We'd like to hear from you as to all the things you do, see and hear. You write so well and it gives us so much pleasure to hear from you. Oh, by the way, thank you for the lovely Father's Day and Anniversary cards you sent me. Imagine, you are becoming a poet taking after your wonderful mother. Well, there is the erector set and many things you can build. I remember the fun we had with the cranes and boom derricks and how we used it with the tracks, trains and blocks. It's fun to play and build so let's hear about it. How is my baseball champ getting on? Did you have a chance to go swimming?

Here is one of the letters from Julius Rosenberg to his sons, after almost a year of separation:

. . . Send our love and best wishes to your Grandma Sophie [Julius' mother—Ed.] and the nice lady and tell them I'm sure everything will work out all right because we are all working together from the heart and we are doing a wonderful thing for all of us. We are well and glad to hear such good news about you. We will be home, you can bet on that.

Your own Daddy Julius

In response to a flood of inquiries from GUARDIAN readers all over America asking how they can help the Rosenbergs, a National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs is being formed under the provisional chairmanship of William A. Reuben, author of the GUARDIAN's series on the case. Support on a nationwide scale is needed NOW. As the one group of Americans best informed about the case, all GUARDIAN readers are invited to join the committee—to help bring the facts to the rest of America in reprint and digest form and to insure money to carry through the appeals against the convictions and the death sentences. Will you fill out the coupon and send it TODAY—even if you cannot afford to send a contribution now?

William A. Reuben, Provisional Chairman,
National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs,
c/o NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York City 7

Dear Mr. Reuben:

Please enlist me in the National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs. Enclosed $..... to help bring the facts of the case to a wider audience and to assure funds for legal needs. Please send me copies of all materials issued by the Committee. You may (may not) use my name in the Committee's work.

Name..... Occupation.....

Address .....

City..... State.....

NEGROES IN AMERICA

Persecution on rise —but so are protests

Life for Americans with dark skins was as angry as ever last week.

Cicero: Officials forced to act

THREE MONTHS after a raging mob of more than 3,000 rioted for three days and wrecked an apartment building in Cicero, Ill., to prevent a Negro family from moving in, little had been done to punish the guilty. But the scope and power of the organized protest against the outrage prompted some politicians to make conciliatory moves.

Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.) on the Senate floor called the riot a "shameful story"; but his major concern was that it will be used against the U.S. by "the master of the Kremlin." Atty. Gen. McGrath ordered a federal investigation; last week a special federal grand jury was being impaneled to convene Oct. 22 and a special federal prosecutor was appointed. Charges against George Leighton, Negro attorney for the Harvey E. Clark Jr. family, mob victims, were dismissed. He, along with four others (the white ex-owner of the apartment building, a Negro now holding title to it, the Negro real estate agent who rented to the Clarks, and a white man who had distributed leaflets protesting the riot a month after it occurred) had been indicted by a grand jury for conspiracy to incite to riot and to damage property. The NAACP announced it would defend all but the leaflet distributor, suspected of "Communist sympathies."

A DAY IN CLEVELAND: In Cleveland, O., Mayor Thomas Burke, long under fire for police brutality against Negroes there, last week (with elections coming up) proclaimed—a "Clark Family Day." Clark himself told his story to a church rally of 1,200 persons, announced he still intends to move to Cicero if he can get "adequate protection."

Meanwhile, 118 persons arrested for unlawful assembly at the riot were appearing in police court. This was their box score: three not guilty; 41 discharged; one fined $25; two fined $17; ten fined $10; two held for the grand jury. Cases of the others were continued. Court costs against the defendants were waived by the judge as imposing "merely . . . additional hardship." He contended that "curiosity . . . drew them to the scene."

"It is up to you . . ."

A small, hard-working, dogged committee in Durham, N.C., last week was still battling after three years for the freedom of Bennie and Lloyd Ray Daniels, cousins, convicted of

LLOYD RAY DANIELS
Three long years

murder of a white cab driver in Greenville, N.C., when they were 16 and 17 years old. Their defenders charge confessions were extorted from them by force, accuse officials of systematically and deliberately excluding Negroes from juries in the county where they were tried. An appeal from their death sentences is to be argued this month in a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The committee needs funds; it writes: "It is now, after all, up to you. . . ."

Contributions may be sent to Nathaniel Bond, Treasurer, Daniels Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1601, Durham, N.C.

Calif.: Walker needs help

From Riverside, Calif., came an urgent appeal for moral and financial support in the appeal from a double murder conviction against Lawrence J. Walker, 20, former Air Force sergeant, now under life sentence in San Quentin.

Latest development: three additional counts of kidnap, rape and assault upon Mrs. Betty Maund, for which Walker was to be re-tried this month, were dismissed. These charges played a key part in his trial for the murder of Richard and Doris Cook; the jury, out for 52 hours, could not agree on the Maund charges. From his prison cell Walker wrote:

> **Tell the people to stay behind me because they are defending an innocent man. . . . I've killed no one. I've raped no one. I've harmed no one. . . . I want to fight this thing because I am innocent.**

Help for Walker may be sent to Rev. William Thomas, 2911 Ninth St., Riverside, Calif.

Detroit: 6 yrs. for Patterson

In Detroit Haywood Patterson, one of the famed Scottsboro defendants and author of the best-selling story of his 19 years imprisonment, **Scottsboro Boy**, was back in prison again with a 6 to 15 year sentence on a manslaughter conviction after two mistrials on a first degree murder charge. Last December he was arrested after a bar-room fight in which another Negro was killed. Patterson charged it was a frame-up, blamed his arrest on the fact that he was to have been a witness in a case of police brutality against a Negro woman.

New Orleans: Ward gets bail

In New Orleans Roosevelt Ward, 21, leader of the Labor Youth League, was released last week on $15,000 bail pending appeal of a three-year sentence for "failing to notify his draft board of a change of address."

In Washington Civil Rights Congress attorneys filed with the Supreme Court an appeal from a death sentence against another Louisiana Negro, Paul Washington, accused of rape. Nine Negroes have been executed on that charge this year.

And elsewhere . . .

● In Meridian, Miss., the last of four Negro youths charged with the murder of a white man won a new trial with a hung jury; one of the others is under death sentence, two life imprisonment. The convictions are being appealed on grounds that confessions were obtained by force.

● Mack Ingram, Negro farmer of Yanceyville, N.C., will have his appeal heard next month; he is under a two-year sentence for attempted assault. He "looked" at a white girl from a distance of 75 feet.

● In New York City American Labor Party Council President candidate Clifford McAvoy demanded action against the police killers of Henry Fields Jr., shot down in a Brooklyn street last

May. In Trenton, N.J., demands were made for action against police killers of war veteran Robert Kelly. In Washington, D.C., protests were made against the seventh case in four months of police brutality against Negroes.

A week ago a caravan of 110 Negro women leaders from 15 states journeyed to Washington to protest these and other cases of Negro persecution. A spokesman said they didn't get much satisfaction from top officials but predicted the delegation would be the start of a permanent national organization.

While all this was going on, a Negro woman in Lester, W. Va., sued local cops for $5,000 for calling her white. She was held in jail for an hour for "riding around with a colored man," charged the experience was a "severe emotional and nervous upset" which might have a serious effect on the birth of her baby.

Fellowship

Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is Hell; fellowship is life and the lack of fellowship is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them. Therefore, I bid you not dwell in Hell, but in Heaven—upon earth, which is a part of heaven and forsooth no foul play.

William Morris

CALENDAR

New York

THE DRIVE TOWARDS WAR vs. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE—An Educational Conference, Sat., October 27, 10:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., Brevoort Hotel, 5th Av. at 8th St. Leaders: Dr. Henry F. Ward; Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson; Miss Maude Russell, Comm. for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Victor Perlo, economist, author **American Imperialism**; Hector Jacques, N.Y. Trade Union leader in delegation which made survey labor conditions in Europe, summer 1951; Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild. Approximately one-half time both morning and afternoon sessions for questions and discussion. Reservation: $2, incl. buffet lunch. Students: $1.25. Auspices: National Council American-Soviet Friendship. For reservations write 114 E. 32 St., N.Y. 16. Call MU 3-2080.

TWO PARTIES FOR $1. Oct. 20, ALP "Meet Your Candidates" party and dance in spacious YPA clubrooms. Dance to 3-piece Spanish band. Gala entertainmen: comedian, African drummer, songs by Chuck and Margy. Cont. movie "So Ends Our Night," with Fredric March in adjoining ALP clubroom. 6th South ALP, 93-95 Av. B. (Man.)

ART EXHIBIT & SALE! Sat., Oct. 20, 7:30 p.m. Rafael Soyer, Moses Soyer, Burliuk, Evergood, Gwathmey, Charles White, Prestopino, Chaim Gross. Symposium featuring David Burliuk and Roy DeCarava on "Factors in Modern Art." Auspices: 10th A.D., ALP, 1427 3rd Av. (nr. 81st St.). Admission free.

New Jersey-New York

P. P. TV MYSTERY DRAMA. "What Happened to Your Dollar?" Mon., Oct. 22, 10:45 p.m., over WATV, Channel 13, featuring Earl Robinson, a N. J. Progressive Party candidate.

Los Angeles

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in Town Meeting tradition. **MARTIN HALL** every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4183. Donation: 60c.

Chicago

HELP RESTORE FREE SPEECH! ASP presents I. F. Stone, N. Y. **Daily Compass**, speaking on the Smith Act. Also premiere presentation by ASP Theatre Group. Friday, Oct. 26, 8 p.m. Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt. Adm.: $1.20 (tax incl.).

RESERVE SATURDAY, NOV. 3rd —HALLOWE'EN COSTUME PARTY. Top-notch band, side-splitting side shows, Chicago's top artists to choose zaniest costume (prize awarded). Adm: $1. Without costume, $1.25. 1110 S. Oakley Blvd. Auspices: Progressive Party.

VETS AND NON-VETS. Your jack-o-lantern can light the way to peace. Plenty of black cats but no red herrings at Chicago Vets for Peace Hallowe'en Party, Sat., Oct. 27, 8:30 p.m. till ? Basement Apt., Lincoln Goldsmith, 4420 S. Drexel. Adm: $1.

Philadelphia

ON THE AIR—Every Thurs., 9:45-10 p.m., Station WPEN, 950 on dial. **Report to the Voters by Alice F. Liveright and John L. Holton.** Independent Progressive candidates for Council-At-Large.

CLASSIFIED

Listings in this section are available at 40c a line (five words); minimum charge $2 per insertion. Copy deadline Friday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

General

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER (New Customers Only) one roll of film **FREE** with each one sent in for processing. Sizes: 116, 120, 127, 616, 620, 8 exp. 35c; 12 exp. 50c; 16 exp. 65c. Jumbo size, attractive album. PAL FILM SERVICE, Blvd. P. O. Box G 123, New York 59, N. Y.

ENJOY PRESTIGE OF N. Y. C. OFFICE ADDRESS & PHONE NUMBER. Mail and messages held or forwarded. $5 monthly. Super Steno, 200 West 34th St., N. Y. C.

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DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS and his co-workers go on trial Nov. 1. Have you written Attorney General J. Howard McGrath? Send your contributions for trial expenses to Rm. 1224, 16 W. 29th St., New York 1.

ELECTRIC TRAINS—$17.95 and up. 25% savings till Nov. 1st. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av. (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819.

IRISH TWEEDS: colorful, sturdy, by yard or tailored. BLANKETS & SHAWLS: many weights, sizes, few 100x100. Superior quality authentic CLAN TARTANS; Kilts to order. ARAN SWEATERS. SAVE—Order direct from AVOCA HANDWEAVERS, Putney, Vermont (U.S. headquarters of Co. Wicklow, Ireland craftsmen).

Books

"BITTER ALOES," RESISTANCE POEMS by **HUGH HARDYMAN**, words to move people to action. 10c, $8.50 per 100, $75 per 1,000. 2315 Los Amigos, La Crescenta, Cal.

A VITALLY IMPORTANT BOOK — "Eisenhower for President?" or Who Will Get Us Out of the Masses We Are In? By W. G. Clugston. Order at any bookstore.

Personal

PROFESSIONAL, 1901, 5'4", 118 lbs; youthfully graceful, progressive, likes nature, esthetics, devoted home awaiting wholesome tidings from tall man similar personality. Box H, National Guardian.

PROGRESSIVE MECHANIC, 1918, 5'4", 125 lbs. Hard of hearing, loves nature, skiing, home life, seeking petite girl similar characteristics. Box L, National Guardian.

Resorts

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Los Angeles

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PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Marie Haug campaign gains in Cleveland

A CITIZENS COMMITTEE in Cleveland is backing the candidacy of Mrs. Marie Reed Haug for the Board of Education. She is the only labor candidate in the field (for seven years she has been business agent of a large United Electrical Workers local), and the only woman running.

Her chief demand is for a $20,000,000 federal grant to carry out a 12-point program for improving Cleveland's overcrowded schools and boosting salaries of underpaid teachers. She points out that the sum represents only 100th of one per cent of the war budget for the next two years. A survey of parents conducted by her supporters found that of the 12 listed improvements, the three most favored were higher teachers salaries, reduction of class size to 25, and classroom instruction in the equality of all races, religions and nationalities.

Cleveland progressives are also supporting the candidacy of Ralph Findley, local president of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. The Board of Education at present is lily-white. Six candidates are running for three vacancies.

(Mrs. Haug is on Station WERE every Monday night at 8:50.)

Penna.: PP makes loyalty bill chief campaign issue

For nearly ten months proponents of Pennsylvania's Pechan Loyalty Oath bill—whose provisions apply to all public employes including teachers—have been trying to force its passage; blocking it has been a combination of forces ranging from the far left to the far right. By last week it was being made a principal issue in the Progressive Party's campaign to elect Alice F. Liveright, social worker, and John L. Holton, Negro union leader, as City Councilmen at large. They describe the measure as "not a loyalty bill at all".

"It is a thought-control bill requiring public employes and educators to swear that they do not and will not belong to any organization which, in the opinion of the sponsor of the bill, is disloyal."

MARIE REED HAUG
No more sardines

OPPOSITION STRONG: Opponents of the bill include former Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts, Philadelphia City Treasurer and Democratic leader Richardson Dilworth, and Dr. Glenn Morrow, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts of the University of Pennsylvania. Organizations include AFL, CIO and independent unions, a Quaker group, Hadassah, the Assn. of University Professors, the **Evening Bulletin** and the **Inquirer** of Philadelphia, the Pittsburgh **Post-Gazette**, Americans for Democratic Action, teachers, unions, and many others.

To counter this heavy pressure, State Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars James J. Davis, one of the bill's backers, has designated Dec. 3-8 as "Loyalty Oath Week." The legislature is to reconvene to consider the measure on Dec. 10. Introduced in January, the bill was passed by the Senate without a hearing before protests could be organized; by August public clamor, initiated by the Progressive Party and teachers unions, won a public hearing which brought out scores of opponents.

Mass.: Civil Rights rally jams hall; Struik gets ovation

Massachusetts Progressives turned out in driving rain to fill the Boston Conservatory Auditorium for a "Fight Back for Civil Liberties" rally at which I. F. Stone, columnist for the N.Y. Daily **Compass**, was a principal speaker. Others were PP State chairman Florence Luscomb, attorney Oliver S. Allen, and Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes, rector of St. Bartholomew's Church in Cambridge.

In the audience were Dr. Dirk J. Struik, world-famed mathematician and professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Harry Winner, businessman, both under indictment for "conspiracy to overthrow the Commonwealth of Massachusetts" under a state law. They got a standing ovation.

FARM

New deal demanded in N.Y. Milk Shed

NEW YORK MILK SHED dairy farmers, like all U.S. farmers, are in a squeeze that tightens month by month. At a convention in Utica last week the Farmers Union of the N.Y. Milk Shed spelled out their problem: prices paid to them now average those they received in 1946; but prices they must pay are up 25%. To correct this, they demanded

. . . a new farm program based on the principles set forth in the so-called Brannan Farm Plan but much more comprehensive and favorable to the farmers.

They also demanded federal reform of milk-pricing orders to bring the Northeast into line with the Mid-west, called for a single federal order in place of the present 14 federal and state orders and control plans.

President Archie Wright warned that if farmers' standards fall, then everybody's fall:

"A healthy agriculture is a contribution to the rest of the economy, but a sick agriculture is a menace to the over-all economy."

GRAPES OF WRATH: Agriculture is sick in the rich fruit-growing Hudson Valley, too. A delegation from there reported that a year ago grape growers were breaking even at a price of $110 a ton. Today they get $40 a ton.

A peace resolution said:

It will do no good to put into effect any farm plans if our country is to be plunged into war.

Blame for the danger of war was placed on Harry Truman's government:

It has followed an aggressive policy of business penetration. Its troops and bases circle the world. It has brushed off disarmament suggestions. The atom bomb has been waved freely. There has been much arm-twisting of allies and the air has been filled with tough talk. A parallel policy has been followed domestically. Farm income and conditions have steadily deteriorated. Labor has been Taft-Hartleyized. McCarran and Smith Acts have abrogated civil rights. Minorities are persecuted. Government policy at home and abroad has been bent to big business interests. Such policies are not in the interests of peace.

Delegates applauded a call for unity of all farmers, even though Wright's organization is one of three whose charters have been lifted by the Natl. Farmers union leadership to insure a pro-Truman majority on the national board. Requests for its restoration have thus far been denied.

How crazy can British magistrates get?

LONDON

This was the dialog when former Sgt. John Simmonds, a "Class Z reservist," was brought before Hendon magistrate R. W. Cowan for failing to present himself for military training:

SIMMONDS: "During the last war I was told the fight was against fascism, against Hitler and the Nazis and the German militarists. . . ."

COWAN: "Who told you that?"

SIMMONDS: "The daily press and the radio."

COWAN: "You have got two officers sitting here who were in the last war, and neither of us were told any such thing."

SIMMONDS: "I was told officially by the government that our fight was against the Germans."

COWAN: "I don't believe it."

SIMMONDS: "I would like to put my case before you. That isn't asking a lot. Six years after the end of the war I find my country occupied by another Power. . . ."

COWAN: "Don't talk nonsense!"

SIMMONDS: ". . . bases being set up all over the country, blocks of offices being put up for these people while our own ex-servicemen are crying out for houses, Nazi generals released, the Japanese being set up again. . . ."

COWAN: "You are talking a lot of balderdash. It is a lot of tripe you are telling us."

SIMMONDS: ". . . and I am not prepared to go into the Forces under the leadership of American commanders. I am not prepared to insult the memory of the millions of people, my own comrades among them, who died in the war against fascism."

COWAN (after three minutes' adjournment): "One month in jail and ten guineas costs."

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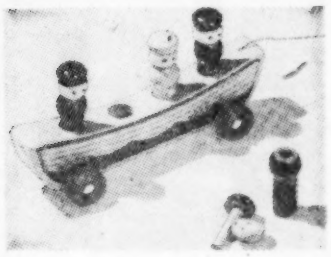

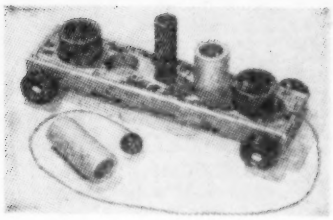

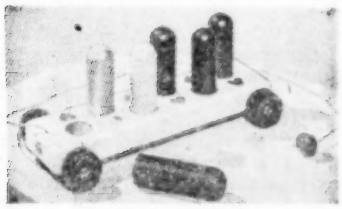

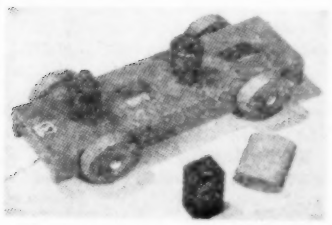

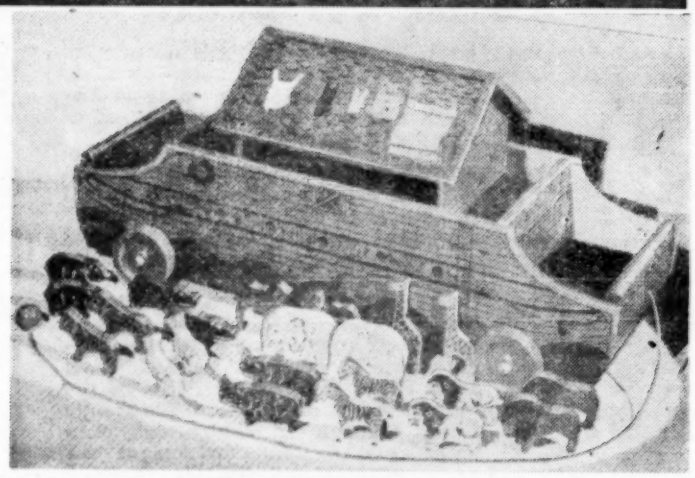

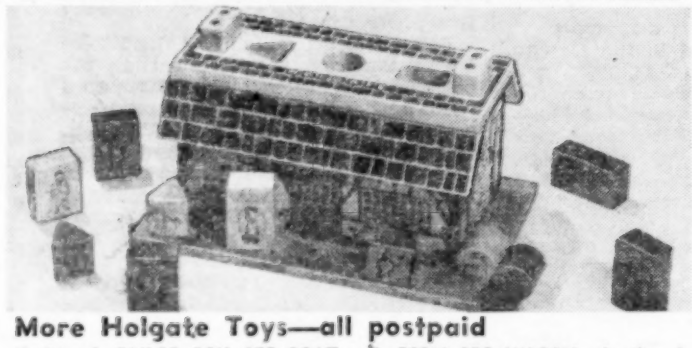

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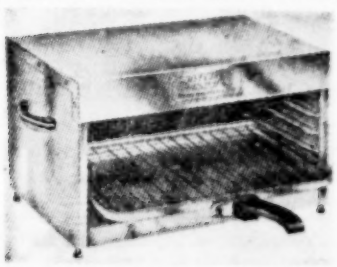

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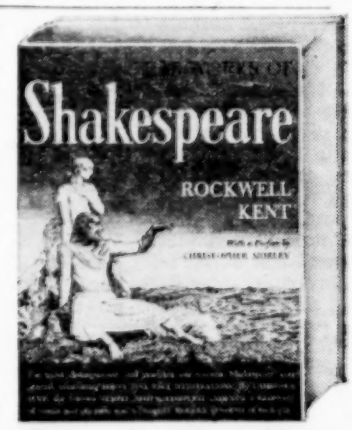

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Luke II, 14

Muralist Anton Refregier has made his personal holiday woodcut design (above) available exclusively to the GUARDIAN for this season. The 11"x6" card folds attractively, with "Seasons Greetings" and the above message visible on the folded card. In three colors, with envelopes ..... **10 for $1**

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THE ELECTION OUTLOOK IN BRITAIN

Labor's rank and file take up the cry for peace

By Gordon Schaffer
GUARDIAN special correspondent

LONDON

THE Scarborough Labour Party Conference, planned by the leaders as a demonstration of support for government policy, turned itself into an impressive demonstration of the British workers' determination to find a path other than rearmament and war.

That is the real significance of the conference "surprises" which brought looks of horror and gloom over the faces of the Ministers on the platform. The support given the Bevan candidates for the Party Executive (Bevanites were elected to four of the seven "political" seats on the 27-member Executive, with Bevan topping the poll, while Defense Minister Shinwell and War Secy. Strachey who had taken the lead in war talk failed of re-election) was the instrument used by rank-and-file delegates to show their dissatisfaction with official policy. Many of them know that Bevan with his demagogic anti-Soviet approach is an imperfect and probably dangerous instrument; but for the moment he has enabled them to show their leaders and the world that the British Labour movement cannot be indefinitely dragooned behind foreign policies utterly opposed to all its cherished traditions.

Our first cover cartoon

This drawing appeared in the GUARDIAN, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 18, 1948. Accompanying it was a comment on the man with the cigar by Emanuel Shinwell (then a militant left-winger, now Minister of Defense): "Of course Mr. Churchill is a great war leader. That's why he wants another war."

LEADERS WEREN'T LOOKING: The leaders were surprised by their defeat simply because they have lost touch with the masses. For months opposition has been clearly growing to the rearmament policy with its subservience to America, its alliance with German, Japanese and Spanish Fascists and its threat to the people's living standards. Striking evidence of this was seen in the trade union conferences, particularly the swing to the left of the powerful Railwaymen's Union. The peace movement, still banned and castigated by the leaders, has been steadily gaining support in circles which a year ago accepted the ban on its activities. Today, if the ban were officially lifted, the movement would overnight become one of the most powerful in the country.

A political machine can smother a movement like this in its early stages, but not when it begins to embrace all the best elements in the working class. So, in the local Labour Parties where trade union delegates and individual Labour Party members meet to thrash out problems at rank-and-file level, the repudiation of the war policy was being put into effect. The hundreds of resolutions on the Scarborough agenda showed how far this movement had gone. Then came Attlee's decision to stage an autumn election—certainly influenced by the desire to avoid discussion at a Labour conference of so many dangerous topics.

PEACE BREAKS THROUGH: Inevitably, the delegates closed ranks. Hatred of Toryism dominates the Labour movement and explains so much loyal support of the two Labour governments despite the unpopularity of many of their actions. Faced with a possible Tory election victory, the delegates agreed on an election manifesto suitably watered down to avoid criticism from either the Left or Right of the party. Even then, rank-and-file feeling broke through in many outspoken speeches demanding revision of the arms program and new efforts for a five-power peace pact.

Between Scarborough and the Trades Union Congress a month earlier, the contrast is significant. The TUC opened with a speech by the Chairman designed to stir hatred of the U. S. S. R. The proceedings were organized by the leadership to secure support for a resolution backing the whole policy of armed intervention against the countries building socialism in Asia and Eastern Europe. Opposition to the arms program was crushed by the vast card-vote majorities of the right-wing unions. But behind the facade of paper majorities the grip of TUC leaders was visibly weakening.

By the time of the Scarborough conference the leaders knew they could not fight an election on a program of war preparation. Defenders of the arms program spoke in tones of apology. The whole emphasis was on the need for new peace efforts. The anti-Soviet note disappeared from the party manifesto and from the speech of the chairman, Miss Bacon. (The second Bevanite pamphlet, **Going Our Way**, issued on the eve of the conference, also dropped the anti-Soviet line which marked the rebels' first one, and completely exposed the fantastic figures on Russian armaments, multiplied with every speech of Strachey and Shinwell; it showed how the party Executive majority, backing the Gaitskell budget and the arms program, was made up of trade union representatives who voted in defiance of their unions' decisions.)

WINNIE'S BROAD BASE: Churchill's hint in his opening campaign speech that Britain needs "a broadly-based government" is taken to mean he would like to form a coalition supported by right-wing Labour leaders and the official TUC leadership. No doubt there are Labour leaders who in their hearts would welcome a coalition but they know that at this stage they would be repudiated by their followers. If the economic situation becomes catastrophic, or if a war scare takes place, they may try to win support for such a move.

ANEURIN BEVAN
There is a way out

But in the country, as at Scarborough, growing rank-and-file militancy and steady widening of the peace movement dominate the picture; they may yet exert a decisive influence on the election. The British Peace Committee has called on all candidates to declare their attitude on the Korean War, on outlawing the A-bomb, on rearmament of Germany and Japan, on the call for a five-power peace pact. The Communists, now fighting only ten seats, are explaining day by day the significance of the struggle for peace within the election battle. Labour's rank and file are regaining self-confidence.

MILLIONS WHO UNDERSTAND: The struggle will not be easy. The Labour Party machine will be used to smother discussion on the real issues of peace or war. The press will continue to pour out war propaganda. Victory for Labour will still mean the return of a party most of whose candidates are handpicked for their support of the government's reactionary policy; a Tory victory means the struggle will take new forms.

But the dominant fact is that the struggle is on, and millions of sincere people are at last beginning to understand the issues.

Humbug

When the Natl. Union of Railwaymen organ **Railway Review** asked rank-and-filers after the Sept. Trades Union Congress: "Is rearmament the Socialist way to peace?" the storm of protest against the Labour govt.'s policy flooded three pages of the week's next (Sept. 21) issue. A few answers from British railway workers:

"Rearmament never solved anything."
"If we continue to re-arm it means war, not peace."
"NO, a thousand times NO."
"Piling up arms is not the Socialist way to peace, but the Capitalist's way to war."
"By accepting [such a] view the teachings of Keir Hardie who laid the foundations of the Labour Party must be contemptuously passed over as if he had never been born."
"Christians know that 'those who live by the sword shall perish by it.' Non-Christians should know that in World War III life on this island will be wiped out in a few hours by A and H bombs."
"The way to peace is through Socialism, trade and friendship with all."
"When will we learn that the purpose of production is consumption and that what is produced will be consumed whether it be bathtubs or bombs?"
"It's a contradiction a child should be able to see through."
"What humbug it all is!"

Guardian Theater Party

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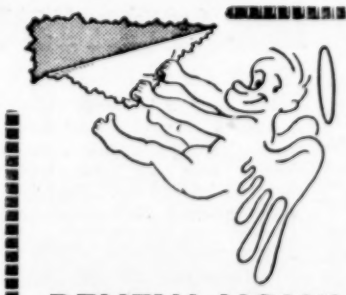

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